UNITY

FREEDOM FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION

(Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Editor 1880-1918)

Editors

John Haynes Holmes Francis Neilson

Leadership in Democracy

By ARTHUR L. WEATHERLY

Thoughts on Genoa

By JOHN HAYNES HOLMES

A Pacifist on the Pacific

By SYDNEY STRONG

Gandhi in Prison

A Letter from India

By N. S. HARDIKER

VOLUME LXXXIX NUMBER 12

Chicago, May 18, 1922

PUBLISHED WEEKLY

UNITY

(Established 1878)

Subscription, $3.00 per Annum

A Journal of the Religion of Democracy

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES : *Editors* : FRANCIS NEILSON

UNITY Fellowship

FRANK C. DOAN
CHARLES F. DOLE
JESSE H. HOLMES
JOHN HAYNES HOLMES
HENRY R. MUSSEY
FRANCIS NEILSON
EDMUND H. REEMAN
ALSON H. ROBINSON
CLARENCE R. SKINNER
ANNA GARLIN SPENCER
SYDNEY STRONG
ARTHUR L. WEATHERLY

Managing Editor

EDITH LLOYD JONES

Vol. 1 March 1, 1878 No. 1

THE

Pamphlet Mission

FOR

FREEDOM, FELLOWSHIP & CHARACTER

IN

RELIGION.

Publishing Committee:

ROBERT COLLYER, Chicago. WM. C. GANNETT, St. Paul.
JENKIN LL. JONES, Janesville. C. W. WENDTE, Cincinnati.
J. C. LEARNED, St. Louis.

PUBLISHED SEMI-MONTHLY AT 65 WASHINGTON ST., CHICAGO.
Per Year, $1.50. Single Number, 10 Cents.

FRANCIS L. ROBERTS, 65 Washington St., Chicago, • Business Agent.
J. T. SUNDERLAND, 65 Washington St., Chicago, } Editors of
GEO. W. COOKE, Grand Haven, Mich, • } "Notes and News."

Editorial Contributors

Charles E. Beals
Harry Foster Burns
Charles W. Casson
George Willis Cooke
Percy M. Dawson
James Waldo Fawcett
Zona Gale
Emil G. Hirsch
Chester Lloyd Jones
David Starr Jordan
Frederick Starr
Jabez T. Sunderland
James H. West

Foreign Representatives

AUSTRALIA—Charles Strong
AUSTRIA—Stefan Zweig
CANADA—Sidney Snow
ENGLAND—Fred Hankinson
E. D. Morel
Walter Walsh
FRANCE—G. Demartial
Romain Rolland
INDIA—Rabindranath Tagore
RUSSIA—Alina Huebsch

UNITY PUBLISHING CO., Abraham Lincoln Centre, 700 Oakwood Boulevard, Chicago, Ill.

"Entered as Second-Class Matter, January 12, 1899, at the Postoffice at Chicago, Illinois, under Act of March 3, 1879"

UNITY Fellowship Associates

BOND OF UNION

We, the undersigned, believing in the association of all men and women who are in sympathy with the aims and ideals set forth in the Announcement printed November 3rd, 1921, do invite all who wish to co-operate to join in a world-wide fellowship that has no bounds of race or creed.

The name of this fellowship is The Unity Fellowship Associates and its purpose is the interpretation of the Religion of Democracy. Membership means a declaration of sympathy and interest. There are no dues. Members may make voluntary contributions which will be used for the purpose of making known the aims of the Fellowship and the publication of its literature.

UNITY will be the organ of this Fellowship and all members will be requested, though not compelled, to be subscribers.

Lists of the members will be sent to all members so that they may be known to one another. Local groups may be formed wherever there exists a sufficient number and there is the desire to do so.

All persons who desire to become members may do so by sending their names to UNITY, care of Abraham Lincoln Centre, Chicago, Ill.

Name .....

Address .....

- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -

To UNITY PUBLISHING COMPANY,
700 Oakwood Boulevard, Chicago.

Gentlemen:

Enclosed you will find check for which please enter my subscription to UNITY for one year.

Mr. (Mrs. or Miss)_____

Address _____

Rates: $3.00 ($3.50 in Canada; $4.00 in other countries) for a year's subscription. Single copies 10 cents.

Contents

EDITORIAL—

Notes 179
Leadership in Democracy.—REV. ARTHUR L. WEATHERLY 181
Thoughts on Genoa.—JOHN HAYNES HOLMES.. 183
A Pacifist on the Pacific.—Editorial Correspondence.—REV. SYDNEY STRONG..... 184

ARTICLES—

The Soul of the Whole.—EDWARD ARTHUR ROCKWOOD 185
Post-War Germany.—*Hubert B. Parris*..... 187

CORRESPONDENCE—

Gandhi in Prison.—A Letter from India.—N. S. HARDIKER 189
Injustice to Moslem.—TARAKNATH DAS..... 190
The Drug Menace in America.—VIDA MILHOLLAND 190

POETRY—

The Seeker After God.—*Harry Kemp*..... 179

THE FIELD—

No More War International Demonstrations.. 191
What Is the Aim of the Eucken League?.... 191

UNITY

"HE HATH MADE OF ONE ALL NATIONS OF MEN"

VOL. LXXXIX. THURSDAY, MAY 18, 1922 NUMBER 12

THE SEEKER AFTER GOD.

There was a dreamer once, whose spirit trod
Unnumbered ways in thwarted search for God:
He stirred the dust on ancient books; he sought
For certain light in what the teachers taught;
He took his staff and went unto the Wise,
And deeper darkness fell about his eyes;
He lived a hermit and forbore his food,
And God left visitless his solitude;
He wrapped himself in prayer night after night,
And mocking demons danced across his sight.
Resigned at last to Him he could not find,
He turned again to live among mankind,—
And when from man he no more stood apart,
God, on that instant, visited his heart!

The Christian Century. —*Harry Kemp.*

President Harding's boat is beginning to rock uneasily in a stormy sea. The gales of fortune are blowing from blacker and blacker skies. One by one, for example, the cabinet officers are coming under fire. Secretary of War Weeks is exposed as letting contracts for the sale of surplus army supplies to favored interests at prices which involve the government in losses amounting to tens and scores of millions of dollars. Attorney General Daugherty is immediately involved in these scandals, and shocks the country by discharging the man who seeks to protect the gorvernment by giving information as to what is going on. The Postmaster-General endorses the spoils system, and arouses to indignant action the Civil Service Reform Association. Secretary of State Hughes antagonizes every liberal in the country by his arrogant reply to the twenty-four lawyers in the Haitian issue, and forfeits in fifteen disastrous moments all the good repute so hardly won at the Washington Conference. Secretary of the Interior Falls fulfils every expectations of his appointment by betraying government oil-lands to private interests, and starting a scandal which may easily develop into a second Ballinger case. Of the remaining officials, all are in eclipse, save Mellon, whose ardent and indefatigable attempts to save the treasury from bankruptcy inspire constant rumors of his approaching retirement. Meanwhile, Congress is in utter confusion; and a primary election in Indiana throws the President's closest friend into the discard. What a farce! But whoever expected that anything else could take place? President Harding is a modest kindly, amiable gentleman, but he also is ignorant, easy-going, narrowly partisan, devoid of ideas, and empty of experience in large affairs. Under such circumstances, what must be, will be!

The corrupting influence of public office was never more clearly or tragically illustrated than in the case of Charles E. Hughes. We have always believed that the greatness of this man, like that of Elihu Root, is grossly overestimated. The presidential campaign of 1916 proved our conviction as regards to Mr. Hughes, as the Russian diplomatic expedition of 1917 proved it as regards Mr. Root. On the other hand, however, we have always believed that Mr. Hughes is honest and straightforward, a stanch supporter of popular government in the best sense of that word, and a hater of tyrannies and oppressions of every kind. His attitude in the issue of the exclusion of the Socialists from the the New York Legislature seemed to us magnificent, and wrote him down, as we thought permanently, in the book of our good graces. Now Mr. Hughes has been in office as Secretary of State for a little over a year. A delegation of twenty-four of the most distinguished lawyers in this country appear before him, to denounce the vile tyranny of American arms in Haiti and ask redress. And Mr. Hughes replies, in effect, that these lawyers know nothing, that he knows everything, and that he can conduct this business, thank you, without any help from outside citizens. Shame, Mr. Hughes! This is unworthy of you! The business of this government of the United States is the business of us all. Information about this business belongs to us all. The right of petition is as irrefrageable morally as it is legal constitutionally. Arrogance will protect oppression by Americans as little as it protected oppression by Germans or Russians in monarchical days. The issue of Haiti burns now but the more fiercely than before.

If ever there was one joke which was funnier than all others that have ever preceded it, it is the joke of the solicitude of the United States as to the recognition of Soviet Russia in the basis of any other principle than that of the full and absolute restoration by the Bolshevik government of all confiscated private property. This property was stolen says Washington, and every last ruble of it must be given back before Moscow can be recognized as a civilized power. But stolen how? Why, in exactly the same way that the United States government stole private property during the war against Germany. Immediately that hostilities were declared, it will be remembered that the office of Custodian of Alien Property was established, and an

amiable and saintly gentleman, A. Mitchell Palmer by name, appointed to occupy the job. With an enthusiasm that would have done credit to an Asiatic bandit, this Pennsylvania Quaker began seizing all the properties of Germans and German Americans in this country upon which he could lay his hands. In a few months, he had billions of dollars in his bag of plunder. Did he have any right in international law to seize this property? None whatsoever. Did he make, or has the government since made, restitution to the citizens and aliens who were thus robbed? None whatsoever! Has the government returned the property which it thus expropriated? Only in a limited number of strictly classified cases, the majority of victims are as empty handed to day as they were on the day that they were burglarized. Of course, it may be argued that in all this the United States was acting strictly within its domestic rights, and taking proper action to protect itself as a war-measure against its enemies. But so were the Bolsheviki, in all that they did in seizing the property of the domestic and other bourgeoisie! The cases are exactly parallel—there isn't the difference between the two of a baby's eyelash, excepting that in the one case we have a communistic government engaged in an exploit of brigandage, and in the other case, a capitalistic government; and we suppose that this difference means "all the difference in the world." As for ourselves, we have serious doubts about this whole business of expropriation; and serious doubts, also, about this whole business of property. We confess to sad confusion on the point. But when it comes to the United States government calling the Soviet government to account for robbery, we have no difficulty in distinguishing the black pot from the black kettle.

The burning alive, in a little Texas town, of three Negroes suspected but not convicted of crime, has but one redeeming feature. It should bring out immediately from its mysterious seclusion the Dyer anti-lynching bill, to which reference was made in these columns three weeks ago. This monstrous crime, inconceivable in any other portion of the civilized world, is a perfect demonstration of the need of this proposed legislation. It the Dyer bill had been promptly passed by the Senate and placed upon the statute books, federal officials would now be upon the scene, citizens would be under arrest for offense not against the state but the United States, the sheriff would be in bonds, and the county faced with financial penalties which would make it poor for months. As it is, beyond a perfunctory investigation, and possibly a few arrests which will never come to trial, nothing will be done in this case. Texas has one more bloody stain upon her banners, but is indifferent! It is our hope that these three Negroes are perhaps the sacrifice which had to be paid as the price of getting action on the Dyer bill in the Senate. It seems a dreadful thing that martyrdom should be the price of progress—but when has it ever been otherwise in this heedless world of ours? At least let us make sure that this price has not been paid in vain. If the Dyer bill is not out of committee by the time this editorial is printed, let every reader send his clamorous protest to President and Senators in Washington! The time for patience is past, dear friends; the time for action is at hand!

The approach of Memorial Day raises again the question as to the fitting observance of this day. Expression of reverent gratitude to those who "gave their lives that (the) nation might live," is of course a permanent feature of the occasion. But why should not the holiday, or holy-day, be used to enlarge the conception of what it means for men to give their lives that the nation may live? Is there not an industrial, a professional, a material, a social heroism, not as dramatic perhaps as military heroism, but just as nobly self-forgetting, and therefore just as worthy of commemoration? Somehow, sometime, men and women have got to be taught that we may serve the nation and humanity in other ways than fighting, killing and dying on the field of battle. If we are ever to get rid of war, we must magnify and sublimate the possibilities of peace as an opportunity of service for mankind. Horace Traubel has spoken the truth in one of his great "Chants Communal":

> We worship the destroyer. We despise or at least ignore the builder. . . You look with awe upon a battlefield. Do you not look with as much awe upon a tunnel? Here is an honest battle. A battle with the rocks. . . Here is a battle in which no other takes up arms against a brother. Yet this battle, too, has its victims. And you look on and think and say nothing. . . You look down into these holes in the ground and your pulse is undisturbed. What is the matter? . . . Some men die that you may live. Some on scaffolds. Some on crosses. Some on battlefields. Some in tunnels. Why should not the tunnel be as holy as the cross? You can understand Jesus on the cross. . . Why do you fail to understand this somebody sacrificed in the tunnel? I do not say that the cross and the stake and the scaffold have tricked you. But I do say that the tunnel has tricked you. . . For if you fail to understand the tunnel you deny all martyrdom. . . He died humbly crushed underneath a rock. They have brought him out of the ground. His face is pale but satisfied. Your city of millions will not stay in its heavy round to regard his anonymous visage. Yet this unknown man has saved your city. But for him your city could not exist. All labor lies there prostrate in his inert form Come out of your churches, all of you, and worship here. Leave your creeds behind. This is creed enough. Worship here. Here is religion enough.

To consecrate this idea might well be the mission of the new and greater Memorial Day of the future!

We always enjoy recommending books to our readers. So here are some titles! (1) "Up Stream," by Ludwig Lewisohn, an autobiographical criticism of American civilization, written in terms of scathing intensity, by a German-Jewish immigrant who has suffered much. Incidently, a literary masterpiece! (2) "Public Opinion," by Walter Lippman, a psychological study of mob psychology, propaganda, newspapers,

popular education, etc. Overwrought and cumbersome in detail, but none the less the most original and valuable book upon this subject that has yet been written. (3) Another book on the churches, entitled "The Honor of the Church," by Dr. Charles Reynolds Brown, the able dean of the Yale Divinity School. (4) "Child versus Parent," by the great Rabbi, Stephen S. Wise, an invaluable handbook for the home. (5) "The Life of Elizabeth Cady Stanton," by Harriett Stanton Blatch and Theodore Stanton, the great story of a great woman. (6) "An Anthology of Irish Verse," by Padraic Colum, and (7) "The Book of American Negro Poetry," by James Weldon Johnson, two volumes to be added to every library of poetry, (8) "Wall Shadows," Frank Tannenbaum's great book on prison life in America.

Leadership in Democracy

Democracy is thought by many to deny leadership. On the contrary it is an affirmation of leadership. The failure to recognize this fundamental and elemental fact has caused many to despair of democracy. Many who think that democracy is a political scheme insist that it is violated if there is not,—in every decision by groups of people,—a counting of noses. To these democracy is a denial of the value of knowledge and experience. The action of the majority is a sacred thing never to be questioned. A certain percent becomes a real fetish in their minds. The long ballot with candidates for every office from president to fence viewer must be maintained no matter how impossible it is for the individual voter to determine the qualifications of the candidates for fence-viewer.

The office of treasurer is mainly a clerical one. His duties are fixed by law. The office of auditor has similar duties. But it is demanded in the name of democracy that these offices be filled by popular vote. We might just as well select the officials by lot so far as obtaining qualified persons is concerned. But that makes no difference. Democracy must have its say. People who do not know, must pass judgment or the very pillars of state will crumble.

It is because we constantly are failing to understand that democracy must not be identified with its tools, that we blunder along. Without knowing what we want or how to get it if we do know, we just muddle through. We vote for persons we do not know, to fill offices whose duties we do not understand and think that we are preserving democracy. We elect members of the legislature who find themselves, when in office, in a maelstrom of bills and resolutions. Their minds are dazed. Helpless and hopeless they vote to clear the slate hoping that no one will discover their ignorance. We seek to save ourselves from the results of our folly by insisting on keeping up the bicameral system in spite of the fact that it offers only an opportunity to dodge responsibility. Bills are voted for in the House in the vain hope that some one in the Senate will discover what they mean.

Laws, laws and then more laws are poured out upon a defenceless people, all in the vain hope that somehow out of ignorance will come wisdom. Lawyers, courts and supreme courts are engaged in the impossible task of trying to find out what it is all about. What was good conduct yesterday becomes a crime today. Law passed by some sort of a majority vote becomes the word of God for, is it not the "voice of the people"?

A torrent of propaganda sweeps across the land. It leaves behind it a deposit of law in the statute books of state after state. We think that something has been done. But just what no one really knows. It was the custom in old Florence to call a parliament of the people when an important matter needed to be decided. The people met in the great square. They voted but, as Savanarola said, they voted away their liberties. But what did that matter? The popular will had been expressed and the forms of democracy had been preserved. So we, responsive to the brass band and red fire appeals to the people, vote the will of the majority into law with fines and jail sentences attached and dream that we are preserving democracy.

When the man who knows appears do we receive him with glad acclaim? Do we ask for his knowledge and wisdom? We certainly do not. In the sacred name of democracy we dub him "high-brow" and forthwith consign him into outer darkness. The candidate for public office must not tell the people what he knows. He must tell them what they are delighted to be told they know. He must be the "glad-hander" incarnate. A hail-fellow-well-met can win the votes over the wisest man in the state. Among the qualifications for the high office of mayor of New York the first to be insisted upon is not fitness but the reputation of being a "goodfellow." All this is a plain denial of all the worthwhile values in civilization and an affirmation that our social order depends not on intelligence but on ignorance.

If the man who really knows wishes to be of public service he must carefully and thoroughly conceal his knowledge. To admit it would be a claim for the right to leadership. Leadership may mean progress but to those who think that democracy means the counting of noses that is the last thing to be desired. There are scholars in our universities and colleges who passionately desire to give knowledge to the people. But the mere mention of "professor" is enough to blast any hope they may have for being of service. We do not want to know, we have a theory of democracy to

maintain. Leaders mean that some know more than others and *that* we must not admit.

The saddest thing about it all is that good men are willing to fight to the last ditch on every and any occasion to maintain this puerile and utter futile idea of democracy.

Let any matter be brought up in club or church, even such a matter as the installation of a method of heating the building and there are those members always present who will smash the organization rather than give up the right, yes, the sacred right of settling the matter by popular vote. If it is pointed out that no member of the organization knows anything about the matter,—that does not alter the situation one whit. The vote, the majority vote, not the heating plant, is the real issue.

I have known a group of well meaning folks with high and noble purposes to be torn to pieces over the question of selecting by vote of all, a person to do a particular bit of work requiring special and peculiar qualifications. The job could only be done by a committee selected for the purpose. But democracy not the work in hand was the important matter and it was maintained but the work was not done.

Blinded by this false idea of democracy and possessed by a desire to use the power they have, many good people insist upon having their say regardless of their knowledge. They are more concerned with keeping power in their hands than they are with the public welfare. Loudly proclaiming their faith in the people they are unwilling to trust anyone but themselves. So we have blind leaders of the blind and we all fall into the ditch.

Many think that the people all to easily follow leaders. They say that the people are sheep who never think for themselves. But what kind of leaders do they follow? It is the very ones who applaud their ignorance as wisdom, who succeed in making them believe that their ignorance is wisdom. I have every confidence in the wisdom of the people when they really know. But this does not mean that the people as a whole have supernatural knowledge on all matters that pertain to public welfare. On matters of policy we must go to the people. There is no where else to go. It ought to be self evident that the people can not by popular vote decide the kind of sewer system needed by a city. Yet this is what we are constantly doing in the name of democracy.

Our elections become disgraceful scrambles for public office in which each candidate endeavors to proclaim his personal virtues more loudly than his opponents. No wonder sensitive men refuse to enter into such contests. Rather than do it they remain at home and ponder on the folly of mankind.

I do not dispair of democracy but I protest against this reduction of it to mere mob rule. A real expression of the spirit of democracy always recognizes the meaning and significance of leadership. If it is true that the politician must always keep his ear to the ground, let us understand that this is not leadership, but a following after. A people can only wallow in the mire of their own ignorance if they are willing to accept such false and incompetent leadership.

There can be no hope in a policy that ends in the sneer at learning and denial of all opportunity to those who are most capable of serving. In an autocracy leaders are thrust upon a people and in a democracy the people are free to choose their own leaders. This is an essential of the democratic ideal. But what will this opportunity profit us if we have no standards of leadership that rise beyond the horizon of our own ignorance. In a social order that has within it any elements of stability, courts and judges are necessary. To be a judge, a man must have certainly a minimum of qualifications. I do not care to discuss here the merits of an appointive versus an elective system, of securing judges. But I do contend that the public as a whole have not the knowledge that fits them by popular vote to select the judges of their courts. If this be true it would seem wise for a people to seek to discover some means of selecting the persons fitted to be judges. But the moment this is proposed the cry goes up that democracy is in danger. The real issue is beclouded. Democracy is identified with a particular method of action and so goes on electing men to the high office of judge just because they can get the votes.

Until we set ourselves to the task of selecting real leaders and trusting them, we can only expect to go on with the painful business of muddling through. Condemning men because they know, is not democracy, but mob rule. So long as we continue to do this we will have the torrent of laws poured out upon us. Laws are necessary to a social order. Those that grow out of knowledge and wisdom enter into and become a part of the very life of a people. But when they express nothing more than our ignorance and fear, they are a veritable Old Man of the Sea on our backs.

Knowing what we do not know, is the beginning of wisdom. Yet this is necessary for our salvation. When we recognize that we are ignorant about many things we are wise at least in this. Whenever I have had the opportunity of voting for a man for the office of judge I have always gone to someone who knew the merits of the candidates and asked him how I should vote. I accepted his leadership. In this I did not deny but rather affirmed democracy. When I want some electrical work done I do not do it myself and I do not even determine how it shall be done. I merely decide I want the work done and then ask some competent one to advise me in the selection of an electrician to do the work. This is just what we have got to learn to do in public affairs.

ARTHUR L. WEATHERLY.

Thoughts on Genoa

It is evident that Europe is fast going on the rocks. Whether the Genoa Conference has broken up by the time this editorial is printed, or is still desperately struggling to find a way out of the present impasse, or has achieved an apparent triumph of reconciliation, makes little difference. What has been revealed by these prolonged negotiations is a condition of financial, intellectual and moral bankruptcy which is simply appalling, and which of course promises nothing but disaster for the future. A few months ago, it seemed as though clouds and storms were clearing away in Europe, but now gross darkness is over all the continent again. In the face of such a spectacle, we feel tempted to sympathize with *The Freeman,* which hints that it is almost ready to welcome another war if only for the sake of ending a "peace" which is worse than war.

The Genoa Conference, however, has achieved one thing—the treaty between Germany and Russia! Here is a step toward reconstruction as definite as it is bold; and it insures that, if Europe is utterly wrecked, these two nations at least may be salvaged. The rise in the value of both the mark and the ruble is no accident; on the contrary—it is the definite reaction of the exchange market to something hopeful for the future. And it is just this one event, be it noticed, which was greeted throughout Europe with shouts of rage and loud clashing of half-drawn sabres! Could anything more clearly manifest the positively desperate state of mind which prevails among the Allied powers? From the standpoint of the past, this alignment of the two outcasts, Germany and Russia, is only what might have been expected; from the standpoint of the future, it is only what might well be welcomed. And yet of all the nations at Genoa, only England showed any self-control or understanding. This reaction of England, by the way, is interesting. It encourages us to make a prophecy! Five years from now there will be an entente or alliance extending all across the north of the world from the Irish Sea to the Sea of Japan. This entente or alliance will consist of England, Germany, Russia and Japan. Every economic and political interest of these four powers dictates this association. In the face of such interests, the sentiments and sacrifices of the Great War count about as much as a copper penny on the rails of the Twentieth Century Limited. We are slow to make prophecies—but stick this in your desk, look at it in 1927, and see how far wrong we were!

In the face of present contingencies, it is not difficult to detect what has been really going on at Genoa behind the scenes. Lloyd-George, of course, has been the most conspicuous figure, and the one man, outside of the German and Russian delegations, who has understood the desperate character of the present situation and what must in consequence be done. The one thing necessary, as is plainly evident, is the scrapping of the Versailles Treaty, which Lloyd-George himself did so much to write. The English Premier's job, in other words, was to undo his own handiwork, and begin over again! But France, at the Cannes Conference, as the price of her participation in the meetings at Genoa, had exacted a promise that the Versailles Treaty should not be touched or even mentioned. This meant not that Lloyd-George would abandon his endeavor—what is a promise to him but a thing to be broken or evaded!—but that he would be obliged to achieve by circuitous methods what he would really prefer, after all, to accomplish openly and above board. It is in this state of mind that the English Prime Minister arrives at Genoa, to discuss an agenda which deliberately excludes, as nobody realizes more clearly than himself, the only matters of European concern which are worth discussing. France has insisted, Lloyd-George has agreed, and the conference on non-essentials is begun!

Suddenly, like a stroke of lightning out of the blue, comes the announcement of the treaty between Germany and Russia. France rages and foams at the mouth like a madman, Lloyd-George expresses huge indignation, and the world at large is frankly amazed. The ordinary man finds it quite impossible to understand the situation. *Why did Germany and Russia choose the Genoa Conference, of all times and places in the world, to announce their compact?* Negotiations had been confessedly going on for many weeks. Why was the treaty not announced at Berlin *before* the Genoa Conference had assembled, or at Moscow *after* the Genoa Conference had adjourned? Why let the world into the secret of the agreement at the one moment which would create the largest amount of sensation and disturbance, and thus serve in the worst conceivable way the interests of the two nations most concerned?

It is easy, of course, to answer this question by pointing to the innate depravity of Germany and Russia. This is some more of the devilishness of Hun and Tartar! But such explanation is not only easy—it is too easy. Germany and Russia may be bad, but they are not mad. The time has gone by for doing things just because of the mischief that is in them. This theory, furthermore, does not fit in with the known character of men like Tchitcherin and Rathenau. These men are playing for vast stakes in a game of life and death for their respective nations, and they are seeking other ends, therefore, than the prankish "riling" of their adversaries.

No, the explanation of the announcement of the German-Russian Treaty lies elsewhere—namely, in the

deliberate intention of Lloyd-George. This man, is playing for vast stakes. His own prestige in England, for one thing; but more, the salvation of a Europe which he himself has helped to wreck, and which he is now trying to rescue before it is too late. Never, I believe, did Lloyd-George set himself more sincerely to a task than he set himself to this. Never was he willing to play the tricks of the born opportunist more unscrupulously, if only they could be made to achieve his purpose which in itself was good. In his way, as the one obstacle to be overcome, was France. She must be outplayed, checkmated, beaten, that reparations, disarmament, Russian recognition and other real issues, may be discussed at the Conference and wisely settled; but she must be beaten in a way to save her pride, insure her continued loyalty to England, and preserve the peace of Europe. How better could this be done than through precipitate and apparently defiant action by Germany and Russia? This would throw everything into the melting pot, and make a new beginning all-around absolutely necessary. And, presto!—the treaty is announced! *Voila!*

Never, we believe, did Lloyd-George pull off a more adroit master-stroke than this. It is true, to be sure, that the English Premier professes vast indignation and categorically denies that he had any knowledge of what was going on. It would be ridiculous, however, to take such statements with any seriousness. The detailed evidence presented by Walter Rathenau proves that Lloyd-George not only had been informed, but had given his approval. If Rathenau were at liberty to disclose more, he could undoubtedly prove, as we surmise, that Lloyd-George was the chief actor in the drama. It was his last desperate gamble to save the situation and Europe, by forcing France's hand, undoing the agreements at Cannes, and getting the whole Versailles Treaty on the table. Has he succeeded? We do not know—we may not know for months or even years. But it looks at this writing as though he had failed. There are indications that for the first time in his life, at the moment when a whole world is at stake, he has over-reached himself. The reports all indicate that France is recalcitrant, *because she no longer trusts Lloyd-George. O tempora! O mores!* O chickens come home to roost!!

Meanwhile, it is not to be supposed that Germany and Russia were the mere catspaws of Lloyd-George in this enterprise. On the contrary; they had come to agreement long before the Genoa Conference had met at all. Lloyd-George simply heard or was informed of what was going on, bargained with the two contracting parties to play his game against France, and paid as a *quid pro quo* what will become evident enough in due season (see above, prophecy of 1927!) All along, however, it has been these two outcast nations, and primarily Russia, which have been the master of the situation. Europe cannot get along without Russia in view of her enormous natural wealth (see oil-wells),—does not want to get along without Russia. But Russia will do business only at a price! Hence, therefore, wherefore!! From the beginning, newspaper reports have indicated that the Soviet delegates have been hugely enjoying the situation. And why not? See these headlines, printed on the front pages of the New York papers on May 8th:

"Two Powers Beg Russia
To Accept Conditions and
Promise World Loan
"Britain and Italy Join in Appeal to
Save Genoa Conference as French Threaten
to Quit."

Well, well, well! It is to laugh! Russia saving Europe, and of course on her own terms!

As for France, could anything be more pitiful! If ever there was question as to the real character of the Great War, it is settled now by the spectacle of what it has done to France. Victor in a grossly imperialistic struggle, she has become in turn the militaristic menace of the world. Bebel was right—it is the victor in the end who loses!

It seems to us that America is well out of this sorry mess. Frank Vanderlip, in his excellent despatches from the Conference, sagely emphasizes that the United States can do nothing to save Europe until Europe herself is willing to be saved.

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES.

A Pacifist on the Pacific

Editorial Correspondence.

I have been looking for signs of peace—permanent peace—as our steamer "Niagra" has carried us from Honolulu to Suva, Fiji. Fred B. Smith has been at Honolulu and he thinks he finds signs of peace.

I doubt the value of the testimony of men like Mr. Smith and John R. Mott. In the first place, they went into battle at the sound of the bugle. They would do it again, I fear—like old war heroes. They think that a big convention or a big friendly talk, in a big hall in Tokyo or Honolulu, especially if the hall and organ are as fine as any in New York, mean a lot. They mean nothing, or next to nothing. Britain and Germany had conventions of all kinds and fraternal meetings galore, but 1914 came in spite. Perhaps 1914 came indeed because of too high value being placed on such felicitations. Messrs. Smith and Mott are

materialists and over-value meetings, "Key-men" and interviews with the "leaders." It is just as well not to be lulled to sleep by such prophets.

What does Honolulu offer in the way of peace? It is a fine human laboratory of the nations, but this only constitutes an opportunity. The fact that the children born of foreign parents (Japanese for example) in Hawaii would "fight for the stars and stripes"—and it is a fact—does not spell peace.

There are a lot of fine citizens in Honolulu. The fact that children of missionaries own splendid properties in the islands should furnish no ground for criticism. They are using their riches for museums and colleges and public welfare quite generously. There is a Japanese gentleman on board, going to Suva on a visit, who owns two pineapple farms of 100 acres each in Hawaii. This means nothing. None of these are elements in the peace of the Pacific.

Alexander Hume Ford and Frank F. Bunker are working a Pan-Pacific Union in Honolulu for the promotion of international congresses making for peace: but again there is not much hope in congresses, which may be easily manipulated by diplomats and propagandists. And now that the Pan-Pacific Union is to promote congresses, whose delegates are to be appointed by the various governments, I have not a great deal of hope in it as a peace-maker.

I would not slur such efforts but I can not think of one of them that were not cultivated between the European countries before 1914—and cultivated abundantly.

In 1920 the centennial of the landing of the missionaries, in Hawaii, was celebrated. The missionaries constituted a noble band of people. Out of their work have come movements like that of General Armstrong's and that of Booker T. Washington's. The celebration was a great event, of splendid speakers and high hopes. Dr. C. F. Dole has pointed out however that one of the invited participants in the celebrations was a fleet of United States gunboats—"armoral notes." As a sign of peace, it seems to me to be a far cry from the first humble messengers of peace—in a 100 years—to the proud messengers of the sword.

At Honolulu today there is Pearl Harbor, one of the strong fortifications of the world—and, I was told, 30,000 or 40,000 men are in the military force.

The white man of America is doing in Honolulu exactly what the white man of Britain has done in Malta and Hongkong—laying foundations for domination and empire based on force. There is a British official on board bound for the Fiji islands, where he is to act as Attorney-general for the island. With all his legal lore, he is also an expert artillerist. It is not often that justice and the gun thus walk in the same personage. As a matter of fact, judging by appearances, he is about the last man on board the ship to whom I would entrust the training and guidance of weaker peoples. He is one of Winston Churchill's appointees. America is doing no better. According to *The Nation,* the nations of Pango Pango—our sub-equator colony,—are in great rebellion, because Col. March, the American commandant, is taking away liberties and privileges guaranteed by our government.

My sympathies are with the weaker peoples who come under the domination of the white man—be he American, French or British. The white man here is seen at his worst. He is also cultivating those vices—pride, arrogance, brutality, injustice—which in the end have always brought about the downfall of their possessors.

The Washington Arms Conference has introduced what is at least a lull in the situation out on the Pacific. Everybody is glad of it. It will give time to pay debts, to fasten down properties nearly blown away by the holocaust. I hope that it will mean more than a "lull"—but also hope that men like Mr. Smith and Mr. Mott will not be encouraged to run around and say, "peace" when there is no peace! The people on board this boat—as good a "catch" as one might haul up anywhere, if he threw out a net in the sea of life—are just the same kind of people that made the great war. *They have not repented. They are proud nationalists,* hopping up everytime the national air is played. They are dancing and drinking and gambling disgustingly—they are the material out of which wars are made.

I have two clear convictions about peace. First, it will not come until people earnestly seek a co-operative commonwealth, that is, are willing to share industrially for the common good. Society today is built along the lines of the passenger-list of the boat, which is composed of first, second and third-class passengers. Ships are now being built with only one class. This is a sign of coming peace. Society must build on the one class idea. Second, there is no hope in Christians who will not stand on the conscientious objector's platform. I see no hope for world-peace until there is a just industrial system; until men,—carpenters, machinists, lawyers, preachers, merchants, teachers, editors—will refuse to drill or go to war.

SYDNEY STRONG.

Suva, April 3.

The Soul of the Whole

> We live in succession, in division, in parts, in particles. Meantime within man is the soul of the whole; the wise silence; the universal beauty, to which every part and particle is equally related; the eternal One.
>
> *Emerson.*

Does the occident know the joy of life—that essence of appreciation which permeates the personalities of those who are truly happy? We know about speed—our "limiteds" have no equal; we know about luxury—our hotels are without parallel; we know about social contacts and financial obligations; we are sensitive to the spectacular and the novel, but what do we know about religion when that word is used to mean those attitudes toward life which bring personal contentment and mental calm? We are leaders in material achievements, but such achievements do not in themselves bring appreciative attitudes. The larger general truths, the deeper inner meanings of life are not to be found in the foundry, nor on the ticker's tape. The terse dictations of the financier may cause a thousand dwellings to be erected, but the families that are to

inhabit those dwellings—what is there in all the rush, turmoil and commotion of our materialistic western culture that is going to create an attitude of peace, beauty, and contentment in their lives? The East has taken time to think on the overpowering mysteries of life, and while she has enshrouded her vital religious life in a haze of ritual, she has not failed to experience the soul of the whole. Is it not time that the West began to realize that religion is something more than a Puritanic system of ethics, codified in the doctrines of an ancient metaphysics? Is it not time that we of the occident began to see in religion that reverence and devotion, that attitude of poetic appreciation, that uniting of oneself with the universal beauty which brings harmony and synthesis to life?

We live not in our single life organisms, nor in the social gregariousness, but in the totality of all that exists. The fullest intrinsic values of life are only realized when we take time to lose ourselves, occasionally, in the larger eternal one. There is no better way of bringing oneself into this spirit of the universal, than through contact with nature. Through literature and philosophy we are able greatly to enrich our lives, but cold storage fruit loses much of its flavor. A sunset interpreted through brush or pen loses much of that animation which personal contact affords. Nature is the source of all beauty, and is best enjoyed when approached directly, for only a personal exploration can fully invigorate spiritual vitality. The opening bud, or the peaceful whispers of the morning breeze through the lofty pines bring that oriental calm to life. The great boulders breathe of solidity, the rippling streams of continuity, while the soft velvety clouds overhead enhance us with their mystic splendor. A life greater than our own envelopes us. A squirrel scurries up an oak; a lone crow utters its plaintive caw—it is such scenes as these that call out from our repressed natures a joyous response, and enable us to realize more clearly that man is not an entity apart from nature, but is rather part and parcel of the total life process. In seeking harmony with nature we seek union with the universal all—the soul of the whole. Brick and masonry bar us from this union; the multitudinous petty cares of our western civilization keep us so constantly occupied that it is only by special effort that we are able to find the time for this renewing of our relationship with nature. Many are the medicinal effects, as we detach ourselves from the activities of our city habitat. and breathe deeply of nature's inspiration.

We gain a sense of proportion. Who can be proud in the face of nature? Who can see in himself more than an infinitesimal part of a great evolving mass? Our little self-made mirrors of civilization and culture magnify us many fold. The pampered, distorted man-image which we behold in them assumes undue significance. The mirror of nature does not so falsify. Before it we stand in the nakedness of our own conscious selves, stripped from all artificial veneer; and in it we see ourselves in relationship to the cosmic vastness. Inordinate self-esteem retards character development. Perhaps better an over-estimate than an under-estimate of one's worth, but for true nobility of character either extreme is detrimental. An accurate appraisal brings neither wanton arrogance nor weakening humility. A quiet, unassuming forward-looking attitude of confidence and trust, characterizes the man who has found his place in nature's unfolding revelation. He does not conceitedly conceive himself as being the purpose of all that exists. He knows that the violets do not bloom to satisfy his æsthetic taste, nor robins sing that he may revel in melody; yet equally does he know that he has a role to play, and that the great drama of organic development will lack symmetry if he neglects his lines. No one can stand alone within a vast forest, and claim for mankind the handiwork of seemingly a myriad mystic forces; no one can look into the heavens, on a clear winter's night—picture there a thousand million suns to a single galaxy, and then egotistically claim for mere man a special divine creation. No, it is only when man surrounds himself with his own petty achievements that he loses the sense of proportion. Keeping in harmony with nature enables us to turn from the microscope to the telescope; to visualize our own worth in relation to the universal all. By so doing we gain a sense of proportion; we evaluate in the scales of comparison.

As truly as nature aids us in gaining a sense of proportion, she serves us æsthetically by stimulating our appreciation of the beautiful. It is as difficult to state why man craves beauty as it is to designate the principles which underlie his selection of what has æsthetic value. There is within us all, however, an innate tendency to appreciate and respond to certain lines in architecture, harmonized colors in nature scenes, poetic diction in literature, and sound waves in music. Futhermore the fostering of this appreciation and response affects constructively our ethical values. Religious calm and philosophic poise are closely allied to æsthetic appreciation. In the dainty anemone struggling through the mulch, the delicate arbutus making fragrant the mountain side, the wild waves lapping against the ragged cliff, the fleecy clouds sailing swiftly and wantonly—in these and a thousand other scenes, nature stimulates our appreciation of the beautiful. To keep in harmony with nature is to keep ever replete our response to these objects which have grace and excellence. That personality is incomplete which has not lent itself to those influences which enhance the æsthetic appreciation. Of these influences nature offers us the richest store. It is largely because of the wealth of this store, and the restful peace and "atoneness" which its appropriation brings to weary city prodigals, that many identify religion with open fields and shadowy woodlands. The meditation which such environments encourage, enable us to detect a deeper meaning in life. The tingle of a fresh content charges our personalities. A smile replaces the frown, and the deep furrows of care are largely obliterated by fresh markings of hope and courage. Aesthetic values are too lightly esteemed in the strife and turmoil of populating our many states; yet it is to such values that we must turn if we wish to find those cultural experiences which are the bases of true happiness. There is in life something more than the struggle of existence, and it is when we lose sight of that struggle in the magnitude and splendor of the "over-soul" that we come to realize the deeper content of life. Nature affords us this broader prospective. In her we have the source of all beauty. To keep ourselves in harmony with nature, is then, to keep in touch with that source from which all beauty flows.

In addition to stimulating our æsthetic appreciation, nature deepens our sense of the spiritual. (I am using the word "spiritual" not as meaning supernatural phenomena, but rather our highest moral values. That man is spiritual who has brought his life into unity with the physical and social forces.) No one can watch the movements of an insect, the inactivities of a

flower, or the slow evolving processes of inorganic life, without gaining through his observations lessons which may be used for the governing of his own conduct. The spiritual life is the human organism so controlled that its conduct is in harmony with those environing forces which seem to shape its destiny. Not in baffled discord does the spiritual man survey the cosmic powers which shape his life, but rather with a feeling of friendliness. He seeks to coöperate with those powers. Perhaps back of the universe he sees no supreme intelligence—a guiding hand holding a prototype; perhaps he sees no evidence of design in nature, no teleology; but he cannot but realize, that whether according to a pattern, or without such a guide, the cosmos is changing in an orderly, systematic fashion. It may be that the universe, like a democracy, is without a controlling hand—that it is a copartnership, the coalition of countless forces each working to adjust itself to the whole. Be this as it may, it is through the sympathetic adaptation of the human life organism to its environing phenomena that spiritual character is achieved. Nature deepens our sense of spiritual values by teaching us how we may more effectively adapt ourselves to the total world order. As a part of all that exists, we must needs learn the extent of our part, and the relationship which it bears to the remainder. Nature is our teacher, and through her lessons we gain a deeper insight into the spiritual life.

There is a fallacy in that popular type of reasoning which infers that western civilization owes its material supremacy to western religion. Is it not possible that our social and economic development has been gained in spite of our religion; and that the present social unrest and dissatisfaction is due largely to the fact that our materialism lacks an adequate religious philosophy of life. We preach cultism, in the form of systems of law and order, but of religion as a state of mind, an æsthetic appreciation, a sense of "at-homeness"; of religion as that calm, that placidity, that tranquillity, that infinite happiness which comes when one has found his place in the universal all; of religion in this broad, non-sectarian, international aspect we are very much unenlightened. Where shall we find this religion? We shall find it, not in the cults of the East, but in our highest educational and æsthetic values—in our literature, art, and music, but more than in any of these we shall find it in nature—the source of all; for in her as in us, there exists the soul of the whole.

EDWARD ARTHUR ROCKWOOD.

Post-War Germany

An Enquiry into the Mind of the New Germany

The British Public is only gradually becoming aware of the depth and reality of the change which has been taking place in the mental and spiritual outlook of Germany since the end of the war. Even if we make due allowance for the gross exaggeration which characterized the pictures presented to us by press and platform during the war as typical of German mentality it seems beyond question that the very large proportion of the German people were in fact carried away by the stream of national sentiment into a whole-hearted support of their Government in its war policy. We will not enter here into the question as to how far this fact may be accounted for by the strict control exercised by the German Government over the press and other guides of public opinion, a control which both the organization and the isolation of the Central Powers made much more effective than was the similar policy as exercised by the British Government. Almost up to the last the people had been buoyed up, through privations far worse than anything experienced in England, with the hope of early and final victory. The collapse of Austria in the autumn of 1918 and the realization of imminent and disastrous defeat, combined with the persistent Allied propaganda for the acceptance by Germany of a peace on the basis of Wilson's "Fourteen Points" brought about a tremendous revulsion of feeling, and the wave of resentment against those who had led or tricked them into this fruitless and agonizing struggle against the whole world swept away Kaiser, Junkers and the whole old autocratic form of Government, set up a Republic, gladly accepted an armistice on the basis of the "Fourteen Points"—and looked eagerly for the dawn of the "new age" of peace and brotherhood and equity among the nations! It is difficult for an Englishman to realize the almost Messianic hopes for the future of the world which thrilled through Germany at the time of the Armistice; hopes which for multitudes softened the bitterness of defeat and eased the smart of loss. But one can more readily imagine how these hopes faded as the Conference of Paris dragged on to its ignoble end, and how since the signing of the "Peace Treaty" there has been in Germany a growth of cynicism, and a gradual squeezing out of moderate opinion towards the two extremes; on the one hand of intense and earnest striving for real understanding and peace with other nations, and on the other of the harboring of bitter thoughts and dreams of a war of revenge in the near or distant future on the part of those who still can see no other way to right the wrongs of today. The period since the Armistice in Germany has in fact been a time of great mental and spiritual excitement. Especially among the youth the welter of ideas has produced a surprising crop of new "movements," societies and groups. Revulsion from the super-organization of the old regime is expressing itself in some quarters in a casting off of all conventional authority, a deep distrust of organization of any kind and a striving after new ways of individual and social expression. Experiments in community life both in town and country are not infrequent. New periodical idealistic literature abounds. Thoughtful men and women everywhere are seeking new light on the problems of life. Many are seeking to lead others, though perhaps few are willing to be led. Particularly strong is the urge towards more natural and unconventional forms of living. The "Youth Movements" with their wanderings and camps in forest and open country, simplicity of dress and frankness of speech, have gripped the younger generation and set them seeking the "wild joys of living" in the open air and contact with nature.

What does all this mean for the Germany, and for

the world of today, and of tomorrow? We have had the privilege of meeting recently the Rev. Oliver Dryer, M. A., who has just returned from a most interesting tour of some of the principal centres of life and thought in Germany. He was traveling in company with a French journalist, M. René Lauret, a correspondent of "L'Oeuvre," and a Swiss engineer, Dr. Pierre Ceresole. The latter is a son of a former president of the Swiss Republic and has had a somewhat remarkable career. In the years just before the war he worked his way across America, taking jobs as he found them, taught school for two years in Honolulu, went on to Japan and served as consulting engineer to a big turbine firm, and last winter was building huts with a volunteer international group in the devastated area of France near Verdun. These three men had determined to try and find out for themselves the extent to which the ideas of peace and reconciliation which characterized Germany at the Armistice period have succeeded in incorporating themselves in the texture of the life of the disillusioned Germany of today, and how far the people of other lands, and especially of France, can count on the German public to extinguish their own fire-brands and remove from France and from the world the dread of another war and all excuse for the maintenance of the crushing burden of "defensive" armaments. The tour had been carefully planned beforehand with the help of Dr. Elizabeth Rotten of the League of Nations Union at Berlin, and at each of the seven towns visited local friends had called together groups, drawn from many and varied sections of the community, to meet the visitors in intimate and frank conversation and discussion. Every effort was made to secure that these groups should be as representative as possible. Teachers, workers, business men, journalists, publishers, university students and professors; leaders and members of various churches, Youth Movements, political parties and trade unions; social workers and members of community settlements on the land and in the "East-End" of Berlin, were among those who took part in the discussion groups at various places. The outstanding fact elicited everywhere was the solidarity of the Labor Movement, not only in its desire for peace with other nations, but in its determination to resist by all means in its power (relying especially on the economic weapon) any attempt to drag the people again into war. Trade Union leaders, in Berlin no less than in Westphalia, expressed the conviction that organized labor would never again allow itself to be led into war. Concrete instances showing the temper of the men were cited. Not long ago there was a strike at the great works of Krupps at Essen—works which at the present time employ 17,000 *more* men than before the war, and all on constructive peace work. Some of the men had been put on to the manufacture of guns, and they refused to touch the job. The strikers only consented to resume when it was made clear that the order was for Brazil, had been allowed by the Inter-Allied Commission and was a pre-war contract which must be fulfilled if a heavy fine on the firm was to be avoided. Akin to this was the decision of the German Metal and Transport Workers to refuse all war work, a decision which was carried out by the transport workers when called upon to transport war material to Silesia. The crowning instance of the effectiveness of this method of combating the war-mongers was the general strike at the time of the Kapp attempted counter-revolution, which completely paralyzed the military ambitions of the Junkers. Further evidence of the attitude of large masses of the people was afforded by the huge crowds that turned out for the "NO MORE WAR" demonstrations in Berlin on the 31st of July last. Similar demonstrations were held at Munich on Armistice Day last November, and it is noteworthy that the summoning body for this tremendous indictment of war was the "Ex-Service Men's Peace League," and that among the numerous bodies represented on the organizing committee were not only all the pacifist societies but such varied interests as the Munich Manufacturers' Association, the General Association of Free Employees, General Council of Trade Councils, Social Democratic Union, Independent Socialist Party, Republican Union of Bavaria, Disabled Soldiers' Association, Free Educational Society, Ethical Society, Workers Choral Society, Students Democratic Society, etc. Mr. Dryer and his friends had more than one opportunity of observing the response of large audiences, mostly of working people, in the industrial area of Westphalia, to sentiments of peace and reconciliation. The enthusiastic and prolonged applause which greeted the speakers, and especially the French visitor, at the great public meeting arranged by the German Peace Society at Dortmund left no room for doubt as to the warmth of their feelings. It should be mentioned, however, that at a smaller group meeting in the same town, in the course of general discussion a good deal of uneasiness and mistrust of French intentions was expressed, more especially having regard to the return of Poincaré to power, and M. Lauret had some difficulty in convincing those present that the dominant party in press and parliament in France at the present moment does not by any means truly represent the mind of the French people. His assurance of the desire and striving towards a real understanding and reconciliation with Germany on the part not only of a large section of the organized Labor Movement but also, and notably, among the elementary school teachers, was very warmly welcomed.

This assurance has especial significance in relation to the growth of a corresponding sentiment in educational circles in Germany. At several places in the course of their tour the visitors were reminded of the article in the new Republican Constitution of Germany enjoining teachers in the schools to make reconciliation between nations an important part of their aim. Nor is this merely a pious wish. A helpful beginning in this direction, which is worthy of imitation in other countries, has been made by the preparation of new history books on the broader basis of trying to teach something of the life and development of the *people,* not only of Germany but also of other lands, thus making history no longer a mere record of the ambitions of rulers and their military triumphs but a study of the development of those things that go to make up the real life of a nation, its arts and crafts, its literature and liberties and the service that its sons have rendered to the true progress of mankind. Not yet, however, can it be said that the whole body of teachers is imbued with the peace outlook. Among the teachers in boys' schools and those engaged in the higher branches of teaching nationalist opinion is still strong. In the universities too, stu-

dents and professors with a broad international outlook, though numerous are still in a minority. On the other hand, throughout the tour the visitors were impressed with the progress which is being made in the practical realization of new ideals and also of new methods, a progress which is being achieved in spite of serious economic and other difficulties. Everywhere they were confronted with the enthusiastic advocates of the "Peoples High School" Movement (Volkshochschule) a movement which is taking firm hold in many of the great centres of Germany. It aims at building up a new world, not merely by changes of organization, but by the creation of new personalities, and this by means of a deep spiritual change affecting the whole outlook and practice. We have seen the spring term program of the Volkshochschule at Cassel. It covers a wide range of subjects: philosophy, the science of education, commercial and social subjects, history and geography, nature study, hygiene, mechanics, languages, etc., 76 sections in all. It would be well worth while if some of our younger men and women could go over and take a course at one of these schools. We are assured that they would be warmly welcomed. Hearty invitations were also extended through the visitors to the youth of other lands to join with the "Wandervögel" and other Youth Movements of Germany in their summer tramps; to exchange correspondence and newspapers, and in other ways to seek to enter into the life and experience one of another. Nor are the school-boys behind their elder brothers and sisters in this respect, and the Secretariat of the Movement towards a Christian International (17 Red Lion Square, London, W. C. 1) has already received several requests from German boys and girls to be put in touch with young correspondents in this country. Any of our younger readers who would like to make friends with a German boy or girl might well write to the Secretary at the above address, indicating whether prepared to correspond in German or only in English. Another invitation which the Rev. Oliver Dryer wishes us to pass on to those of our readers who are teachers is that to the International Teachers Congress which is to be held this summer in Western Germany. Full particulars may be had from Hannah Niederhellmann, Schifferheimerstrasse 4, Duisburg. Contacts of this kind have a value for the future harmony of the world far beyond any actual educational benefit to the individual concerned; and the record of this tour has set us thinking of what might be accomplished in the realm of international comity if only the people of every land could get a true picture of their neighbors, and better still could come into living touch with them.

HUBERT B. PARRIS.

London, England.

CORRESPONDENCE

Gandhi in Prison

(A Letter from India.)

Dear Mr. Holmes.

Through newspapers you must have read about the arrest and imprisonment of Mahatma Gandhi, whom, a year ago, you called "the greatest man of the world." You might have got in communication with our office at New York for further information about the incarceration of this master mind who is now a prisoner of Britain, his only crime being preaching the liberation of India by means of non-violent, non-coöeration. I was with Mahatma when he was arrested. I witnessed the court proceedings against him. I had heart to heart talks with him both in and outside jail. I am really fortunate in having been with him at that time. I know you will envy me. But let me tell you that you were absolutely right in your analysis of the three men in the world. Mr. Gandhi is truly "a great soul" which when translated into Sanskrit means "Mahatma." The Government, in order to uphold brute force, arrested the saintly being and divine personage who commands respect from the entire humanity in India. He was convicted by an English judge who was far below par of Mahatma Gandhi. To us who sat in court by the side of that great man and witnessed the whole proceedings it seemed that Jesus of Nazareth himself was being tried and convicted. One of our poets, Mrs. Sairojini Naidu speaks of his trial in this fashion:

> The strange trial proceeded and I listened to the immortal words that flowed with prophetic fervour from the lips of my beloved master. My thoughts sped across the centuries to a different land and a different age when a similar drama was enacted and another divine and gentle preacher was crucified for spreading a kindred gospel with a kindred courage. I realized anew that the lowly Jesus of Nazareth cradled in a Manger furnished the only true parallel in history to this sweet invincible apostle of Indian liberty who had loved humanity with surprising compassion and to use his own beautiful phrase "approached the poor with the mind of the poor."

While in jail at Sabarmati as an under-trial prisoner Mahatma Gandhi was treated well by the Government. He was allowed to be seen by his wife, his family members, his friends and followers. He got practically all that he wanted. He had his bedding, his books, his papers and his "charkha" (spinning wheel). You know he lives on goat's milk, toasts, raisins or fresh grapes and oranges, and this too he takes very little but three times a day. He was allowed to get his food from home. He was taken to and from the court for and after the trial in a special train. He was made to sit in first class coaches. One of his disciples who was arrested along with him and who was his companion in jail served him and looked to the needs of the man.

But when the trial was over and he was convicted to six years simple imprisonment the whole thing turned as though some one had brought a magic wand into operation. He was removed from the Sabarmati jail where he was kept as an under-trial prisoner. For a time even his whereabouts were kept secret but later on his son and some others were allowed to interview him in the Yeravda jail near Poona where he is now being kept. There they found this World Teacher suffering. He was deprived of all the privileges that were allowed him while at Sabarmati as an under-trial prisoner. This World's "Greatest man" is indeed being

treated by a civilized Government like a criminal. He is not even shown ordinary courtesies by the Government. He is not even allowed his own bedding although every prisoner undergoing simple imprisonment is entitled to his own. They do not allow him even religious books. Such is the humiliation that is offered to the modern Christ by a people who claim to be the followers of Jesus Christ and call themselves Christians. It is a shame, indeed, to Christendom itself. The interview between the Mahatma and his son as well as one of the General Secretaries of the Indian National Congress, Mr. Rajagopalachariar, is published in this country. I give below a few quotations from the same for your information:

The prisoner was brought down by a warder to the Superintendent's room. The Superintendent was in a chair, Mahatmaji standing in front of his table. He had to continue standing throughout the interview. In answer to questions about his food, Mahatmaji said that he was given goat's milk and bread. The milk being given all at a time. He had cut down his three meals to two. Asked what he did for fruits he said he was given two oranges a day. Raisins which he had mentioned as a part of his usual diet, had not been ordered to be given. Mahatmaji's milk is heated for him on a stove in the yard which some Arab prisoners are using.

Mahatmaji is kept in one of the cells intended for solitary confinement and locked in during nights. The cell has two ventilaters, one near the roof and the other at the floor. It has a verandah besides which in the day time an area marked out for him in the yard allowed for walking. The night pot has to be in the same little cell during nights.

No articles are allowed from outside. Mahatmaji is not allowed his own bed. He is given the usual two jail blankets. Asked whether he had any pillow, he said he had none. The Superintendent said that a pillow was a luxury. For utensils Mahatmaji has the usual jail mug and dish. He is, however, allowed his own spoon.

Mahatmaji is given no newspaper. The Superintendent said that no books of his own would be allowed, not even purely religious books. Mahatmaji appears to have strongly remonstrated on his subject.

Mahatmaji was in his usual single loin cloth. He did not seem to be in good health. It is clear that except in the matter of food to the limited extent Mahatmaji is treated strictly as a common prisoner.

The Government of Bombay issued a communique as soon as the above interview was published in the Bombay papers. The Government contradicted the statement made by the interviewers and said that Mr. Gandhi was treated well and that the report published by the papers spread untruth. But as the interview had been taken by a responsible person, no less than one of the General Secretaries of the Congress itself, the people of Hindustan had no reason to disbelieve it.

India loves Gandhi. India is willing to make sacrifice for him and the principle for which he stands. She has already offered, at his bidding, 25,000 of her best men who have now crowded the British jails without a murmur. His message to the country and to the world from jail is "Peace, non-violence and suffering." The onward march of the Indian people begun in order to win Swaraj will not halt until they attain victory. People have resolved to reach the goal by the same route that has been chalked out by Gandhi. The body of the Mahatma is in jail. But his spirit and his teachings have permanently permeated the 319 millions of human beings of Hindustan. His work will go on even without him. We do not worry about the future because we know that it is very bright.

N. S. HARDIKER.

Bombay, India, 7th April, 1922.

Injustice to Moslem

To the Editor of UNITY:

The Boston *Evening Transcript* of May 5 publishes the following Associated Press despatch:

"Ahmedabad, India, May 5—Hazrat Mohani, President of the All-India Moslem League, was sentenced to two years' imprisonment on a charge of sedition, after the *judge had refused to* accept the verdict of *not guilty,* rendered by a jury. A charge of inciting to war was referred to a higher court.

"The defendant delivered an address in which he asserted that the independence he advocated is every man's birthright.

"The prosecution set forth that the defendant had urged the establishment of a parallel government to usurp the functions of the existing government, making warfare inevitable."

Justice rendered to Hazrat Mohani is one of the thousand instances of injustice done to the people of India particularly the Indian nationalists and non-cooperators under the garb of preserving law and order and the dignity of the State. There are over twenty thousand Indian nationalists now in jail not because they committed any violence but because they had the courage to stand up for the cause of Indian Independence, "by spreading disaffection against the government."

We do not know what to say about conditions in India and the sense of justice and the love of liberty of the British people. We do not know whether it is wise for an American citizen to make and comment on the question because of the attitude of the American government. *The Freeman* of May 5 quotes a portion of the injunction issued by the Hon. Charles Evans Hughes, to the American people, which is so significant that the American people should give it considerable thought:

"Let it be understood that those who indulge in diatribes against foreign peoples and their governments, who hold them to ridicule, who impute to them base motives and asperse their honor, are enemies of their own country, and as such deserve universal censure."

Hon. William Jennings Bryan, once the Secretary of State of the United States, said about British rule in India, "There is no justice in India." We voice this very sentiment and advocate that India should be free and independent of British rule, and every American who believes in the principles of the Declaration of Independence should aid in her struggle for freedom. We wonder if this will be regarded as treason committed by an American citizen according to the injunction of Mr. Hughes!

TARAKNATH DAS.

May 7, 1922.

The Drug Menace in America

To the Editor:

Sir: The short-lived police ordinance in New York forbidding women to smoke in public which sprang Minerva-like but not "fully armed" from the head of some law-giver, has brought the subject of smoking to the attention of a thoughtful public. To legislate for or against this peculiar habit along sex lines is archaic and no more possible than to do so—along color or class lines. It is only possible to approach this subject from the point of view of the public weal, which enables us to plant ourselves upon fundamental principles, not prejudices, and if our reasoning be intelligent and sincere we are bound to reach a just conclusion. Loving "our neighbor as ourself" is the crying need of the world today and this seems to me the only possible state of mind for any one to be in who feels impelled to attack certain laxities indulged in by a portion of the public.

Now, about smoking! First of all let us deal with that threadbare argument "personal liberty." The drug fiend, the thief and the murderer can all urge that their personal liberty is seriously interfered with when they are arrested and imprisoned for breaking the law of the land; but as judicial law is founded upon a higher one, i. e., the moral law, public opinion upholds it and the outlaw must bow to the public's decision. In the same way this ruling must be applied to anything that is seriously undermining the public good. Why do people smoke? Some merely from habit and sheep-like imitation of others; many because they have a drug-craving appetite and since there is no *law* to prevent smoking, they can indulge to their heart's content but to their mental and physical destruction. A great New York daily has recently been publishing a series of articles dealing with the drug traffic and drug usage in America. People have been shocked at the revelations. The users are in the millions and the paper points out that while the traffickers in drugs are foreigners *the consumers are Americans.*

THE FIELD

"The World is my country, to do good is my Religion"

NO MORE WAR INTERNATIONAL DEMONSTRATIONS JULY 29TH, 1922.

To the Editors:

I enclose a copy of a letter which has recently been prominently in the English press, signed by many of our most representative people, leaders in politics, labor, religion and in social life.

You will see that it proposes that No More War Demonstrations should be held in this country on the anniversary of the outbreak of the war, simultaneously with the demonstrations that have become the custom in some countries on the continent.

We are immediately forming organizations in all the large towns to prepare for these demonstrations.

We appeal to you to co-operate with us, so that one great cry may be sent up throughout the world, making it clear that the will of the people of every nation is that there shall be No More War.

Will you let me know what action you may decide to take in your country?

With heartiest greetings to all our Comrades, on behalf of the No More War International Movement.

H. RUNHAM BROWN,
International Demonstration Secretary.

LETTER.

Sir:

A movement has been set on foot on the Continent to make the week-end preceding the anniversary of the outbreak of the War an occasion for demonstrating the will of the people to end war for ever. Both in France and Germany large gatherings were held last year, many thousands of people marching in procession through the streets and participating in mass-demonstrations in the public squares and parks. An effort is being made to extend the movement this year to other countries, so that a simultaneous manifestation of the desire for "No More War" may be made in all parts of the world.

A feature of the gatherings on the Continent has been their representative character. In the German demonstrations, for instance, political, religious, industrial, professional and educational bodies of very different shades of opinion participated, and it is our hope that equally representative gatherings may be organized in Britain this year. The sole object will be to express the general detestation of war and longing for peace. Those taking part will differ as to ways and means; but they will in common assert the simple, overwhelming determination of the people that there shall be No More War.

The proposal is that great popular processions and demonstrations should be held in this country on (or about) Saturday, July 29th., and, in order that they may be as representative as possible, it is intended to call conferences in London and other towns to appoint the necessary committees to make the arrangements. We trust that the movement will be supported by every organization which desires an end of war, and by all men and women of goodwill. A united expression of the earnest desire of all peoples for No More War would have an incalculably good effect in strengthening the bonds of international friendship at this critical period.

Those who are interested should write to the secretary "No More War" Demonstrations Provisional Committee, 304, High Holborn, London, W. C. 1.

Faithfully yours,

Religious Representatives: Charles Gore (Bishop), Reginald Adderley (Hon. Rev.), R. Sheppard (Rev.), John Clifford (Rev. Dr.), Alfred E. Garvie (Rev. Dr.), John W. Graham (Principal), Herbert Dunnico (Rev.), J. H. Jowett (Rev.), F. D. Meyer (Rev.), W. E. Orchard (Rev. Dr.), Charles Diamond (Editor, "Catholic Herald"), Edward Grubb, J. E. Hodgkin, T. E. Harvey, Hugh Martin, Parmoor (Lord).

Labor: C. G. Ammon, M. P., Ernest Bevin, A. Fenner Brockway, J. R. Clynes, M. P., R. J. Davies, M. P., Harry Gosling, A. Henderson, M. P., Frank Hodges, Morgan Jones, M. P., G. Lansbury, Neil Maclean, M. P., A. Ponsonby, R. Smillie, Ben Spoor, M. P., C. Trevelyan, Ben Turner.

Ex-Service Men: C. Birdwood Thomson (Brig. Gen.), C. R. Attlee (Maj.), E. Gill (Capt.), M. C. L. Haden-Guest (Maj.), M. C., J. Wedgwood (Col.), M. P. D. S. O.

Women: Lena Ashwell, Margaret Bondfield, M. Llewelyn Davies, Charlotte Despard, A. Honora Enfield, S. Margory Fry, J. P. E. Pethic Lawrence, A. Maude Royden, Margaret Wintringham, M. P., Marian E. Parmoor (Lady).

Literature and Science: Augustine Birrell, A. G. Gardiner, Hamilton Fyfe, G. P. Gooch, Maurice Howlett, J. A. Hobson, Lawrence Housman, Jerome K. Jerome, H. W. Massingham, Bertrand Russell, F. R. S., Siegfried Sassoon, C. P. Scott, G. Bernard Shaw, Frederick Soddy, F. R. S.

WHAT IS THE AIM OF THE EUCKEN LEAGUE?

Uebersetzt von I. A. Nieuwenhuisen, Jena.

[Note: Rudolf Eucken has recently organized an Eucken League which promises to play an important and beneficent part in the new Germany. Its ideals and principles, as stated in the following bulletin, will be of interest to our readers.—EDITORS.]

It appeals to Humanity to struggle against all that is base and bad, against insincere convictions and confused thought. In community of work it wants to strengthen our confidence in the existence of a creative cosmic will-power which sustains and ennobles us and to which we owe the meaning and value of our life. The Eucken League demands of us a determined activism: instead of professing superficial optimism or disintegrating pessimism, we must take an active part in the great universal struggle against all that is evil and worthless.

Therefore each individual must hold his own in spite of all divergencies of vocation—as a statesman, teacher, laborer, father or mother, each one is meant to co-operate, and must set an example by life and action. Only thus can such firm standards and undeviating principles be established as our fluctuating time has lost. Only thus can we

---

You cannot have an effect without a cause. What is working in this American consciousness to cause millions of our people, boys and girls, men and women, to crave opium, cocaine and nicotine (the latter so easily obtained through cigars and cigarettes), in such vast quantities? What must happen to a nation if its people are doped? They will become a prey to those who have watched their downfall. We must rouse ourselves from this drugged lethargy that can be seen on all sides for this is a time in the world's affairs when Americans above all people, must have a clear vision. Europe and Asia are looking to us to "point the way," and for their sakes as well as our own we must cast out anything that would impair our usefulness. With Paul we say: "If meat cause my brother to offend I will not take meat."

Ask yourself what effect smoking has on a person's mental alertness. On several occasions when I was interested in seeing some feminist or Child Welfare Bill pass the Legislature I used to go up to Albany. Never will I forget the terrible impression I received from those smoke filled legislative halls! How could men do their best work in this reeking atmosphere that drugged them and confused their thought? The New York State Legislature is no exception in this respect and it should be nationally established that smoking is illegal in all Legislative Chambers and Court Houses.

Then may I suggest another side of this question? What about the general public who do not smoke? Must we be subject to this pest wherever we go? If we sit down in a hotel to talk to a friend must we have these enervating fumes blown in our faces and in this way have nicotine poisoning forced upon us by absorption and inhalation? *No, we will not.* There are people who will stand for their rights and they will insist upon the right of being protected from nicotine poisoning. If people must indulge in this sensuous, mind-destroying habit let them do it in private. Soon a sharp line of demarkation will be drawn between smokers and non-smokers and the state will receive a better service from such a grouping.

It is not so long ago that snuff-taking was permissible, but as soon as a progressive public opinion condemned it, snuff-taking became obsolete with many other ancient customs. So it will be with smoking, we are advancing too quickly to tolerate much longer such a harmful and coarse pastime.

When a strong, clean lad is chosen athletic champion to uphold the prestige of his school against all comers, one of the first items his trainer eliminates is smoking. America is in that position today, she is civilization's champion. She has the greatest race to run that any nation has ever been called upon to win and *win she must.* She needs a strong, clean body (politic) and an unprecedented clarity of thought. Let each of us gladly forego any indulgence if by so doing we can add to our beloved America's grand strength.

Let me add that I have a strong suspicion that if we do not do it willingly and gracefully now we will be driven to it later on by that spiritual purity which is the motive force of this country.

New York City. VIDA MILHOLLAND.

dam the rushing flood of immorality which now saturates all the conditions of life. On our children and children's children must be indelibly impressed: This is right and that is wrong. The great Plato says rightly: There is no success without noble anger.

To unite more closely those souls that strive and struggle in this consciousness, so that they may exert their whole strength and assiduity to overcome all opposition, is the chief aim of the Eucken League, which thus comes into close touch with the living present. The spiritual life has recently passed through great changes; we are apparently at the beginning of a new epoch, which will leave its impress on the coming centuries. Life centers more and more in the world of realities, and finds there important tasks, which we also cannot and will not ignore. We have but to think of the social question, with its claims on the whole of humanity. But by exclusive progress in this direction life has lost its balance, and the spiritual world has slipped away from us. In spite of a superabundant wealth of external stimulation and impetus, our souls become more and more impoverished, our happiness becomes a mere fiction, our spiritual status threatens to grow crude and vapid. It is therefore of paramount importance to rouse the soul and thus achieve both the spiritual regeneration and the spiritual self-preservation of man. We must not lose sight of the eternal truths and the strong cohesion with the fundamental creative forces of life. Those truths are independent of human thought and choice; they survive all time. But to man comes the challenge to meet them with unprejudiced mind, to fully acknowledge them and compute them into a living reality. The present time sees its chief task in an effort to bring into harmony the two poles of human aspiration: rising to a higher world on the one hand, and on the other hand conscious activity in the life around us and for the benefit of our fellow-men. It is necessary to regain the lost balance of life, and to overcome the antithesis between Soul and Work from which we are now suffering. This now is the aim of the Eucken League, which it hopes to materially further in unremitting labor and with all its strength and might. The need is great; but we need not despair if thought and action go hand in hand, and if all provinces of life are joined in mutual effort, if everyone does his duty and tries his best to save humanity from the dangers that threaten it, by which he will at the same time be saving his own soul. Let us then set forth the necessary fundamental truth and principal aims, and separate them from all superfluous accessories. Together we will bring more truth and more simplicity into our enfeebled and shallow civilization. Together we will strengthen our conviction that a new wave of life is preparing to rise among men, a wave which will bear our aspiration and activity on its crest. Let our motto be a spiritual Excelsior!

Subscribe for and read UNITY! Do not miss a single issue.

Only By the Abolition of Neutrality Can Wars Be Quickly and Forever Prevented

An Original Conception for the Practical Advent of Universal Perennial Peace and Brotherhood

Price 25c. By LUIGI CARNOVALE Author of *Why Italy Entered Into the Great War, etc.* *Price 25c.*

IT.-AMERICAN PUBLISHING CO. : - : 30 N. Michigan Blvd., Room 930, Chicago

WRIGHT & COMPANY

STEAM—DOMESTIC

COAL

TELEPHONE WABASH 5028

Main Office:

28 E. Jackson Blvd.

CHICAGO

Phone Oakland 489 JANITORS' SUPPLIES

Everything in HARDWARE

AT

PORTER'S

4236 Cottage Grove Ave.

Bowman Dairy Company

MILK BOTTLED IN THE COUNTRY

Milk Cream Butter Buttermilk

DO OUR WAGONS SERVE YOU?
WHY NOT HAVE THE BEST?

4221-4229 State Street Telephones at all Division Offices

EVANSTON CHICAGO OAK PARK

DREXEL State Bank

Cottage Grove Ave. *and* Oakwood Blvd.

Thirty-two years of conservative banking, combined with service and courtesy for every depositor —large or small—is the record of this bank . . . . . .

Your savings and checking account cordially invited

Resources Six and one-half Million Dollars

Schumann & Company

Cleaners of

Fancy Gowns and Kid Gloves

Having winter garments cleaned before storing them will keep out moth

Phone Drexel 0231
All Departments

MAIN OFFICE AND WORK:
3954 Cottage Grove Avenue